and another an old electric light bulb suspended from the ceiling by a string. 265 [353]

The maintenance of a chaykhana can be a fairly lucrative business, for it plays an important part in the social life of the lower classes. In the absence of any other entertainment, there is almost always a large number of persons in the chaykhanas, merchants, workmen, soldiers and policemen off duty, and loafers. The chaykhana, however, is definitely limited to the lower orders of society. One of the higher ranking officials, for example, the qaimaqam or the judge, would never be seen in such a place, nor would the army officers. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who sometimes visit in pairs or groups, but prefer the town "club" because it has none of the stigma attached to the tea-shop. The landed aristocrats, the chieftains, are not bound by the scruples of official or officer, but tend to avoid the places. The reason is clear and explicit. A man of the higher echelons of society is expected to maintain a diwankhana or guest-room in his home where he can entertain, and to be entertained in the houses of his friends, rather than purchase his refreshment in common with others. Similarly, a man of some standing in the community who spends much of his time in chaykhanas will quickly acquire the reputation of a loafer. Finally, as enlisted men from the army are to be found there on Fridays, there is talk that these places harbor homosexuals (hatiw baz, "homosexual," is a formidable term of abuse, an epithet which elicits knives.) 265 554 [517] [574] [558] [701] [578] [838]

for an egg alone) is a notorious commodity. The army officers are believed to visit their village regularly, and all of its inhabitants are held to suffer from "the Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations with some of these girls until they were driven away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such exchanges between fallahin men and women without the slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Balikian has its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe that any significant proportion of its female population is so engaged, despite the verdict of the Rowanduzis and the wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, it is that of the roasters of meat or kababchis. The kababchi, always in some state of undress and blackened with the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined to the Kurds, confirm this character. The kababchi works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the bazar. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

is the concept of the inequality of male and female, the second held to be a necessary but weak and volatile component of the scheme of things. The Kurds, as suggested above, claim to hold their women in greater respect than the Arabs, but it is doubtful that this might be carried to the extent known in Europe or America without considerable opposition. In the agricultural villages of the district, the wives and daughters enjoy much greater social equality, inasmuch as they are partners with the men in working in the fields, than in Rowanduz, where the work of men, for example, the trade of the smith or the merchant, is considered impossible or shameful for females. It is thus that, although a man may be discomfitted by being known as cowardly, miserly, or impious, the two worst catastrophes that can overtake the honor of the mal are the murder of one of its members or the indiscretion of its women. In popular theory, the murderer or one of his relatives in the first case must be sought out and slain, and, in the second, the woman in question must be done away with.

The second thing necessary to notice is the almost incredible emphasis placed on a male heir. Every man, no matter what his station in life, desires a son, and, this wish granted, extends it to include a grandson. "A grandfather prays to God to let him live long enough to see his grandson," one was informed, and one of the most heartbreaking events is the death of a son or grandson. It has been noted how Ra'uf Effendi considered a second marriage

to replace the boy he had lost. Women share as much as their husbands in this desire. Lali Khan was so stricken by the death of Isma'il Beg, her son, that she made her mourning perpetual. If, for some reason, a man has no son, he often turns to those of his brother or sister, showering them with affection and gifts. Girls, of course, share in the love of their parents and do not receive treatment which would cause them to be too jealous of their brothers, but never acquire the standing of a male. The sarcophagus of Isma'il Beg has flowers placed next to it daily, and an animal, whose flesh is distributed to the poor, is slaughtered in his memory almost every week. In contrast, the son of Shakir Effendi pointed out the grave of his daughter who had died in infancy to visitors by throwing a pebble at it.

The third emphasis is that placed on seniority within the family. The male usually takes precedence over the female, and the eldest does the same over those younger than himself. Thus the children, both boys and girls, must observe respect toward their elder brothers and sisters, parents, uncles, aunts, and grandparents.

Turning now to a more exact delineation of the relationships within the mal, little more has been done than to rephrase and combine several of the narratives recorded. The first question which might be treated is that of parents and their children. The relationship between a father and his son, as one might suspect from the foregoing, is one of the most important to the former,